

WYFFZYVVV

SADV 07

ADV SUN AMS JULY 7

AP NEWS ANALYSIS

SUMMITRY 450, TWO TAKES TOTAL 940

BY FRANK CORMIER

ASSOCIATED PRESS WRITER

KEY BISCAYNE, FLA. (AP) -- PRESIDENT NIXON'S LATEST VENTURES IN SUMMIT DIPLOMACY, COVERING NEARLY 29,000 MILES IN FOUR WEEKS, HAVE POSED AS MANY QUESTIONS AS THEY ANSWERED.

DESPITE MODEST TANGIBLE PROGRESS, NIXON CLAIMS NOTEWORTHY GAINS FOR U.S. RELATIONS WITH THE SOVIET UNION, IF ONLY BECAUSE HIS TRIP TO MOSCOW, YALTA AND MINSK CONTINUED HIS HISTORIC DIALOGUE WITH COMMUNIST CHIEF LEONID I. BREZHNEV.

AS FOR HIS EIGHT-DAY JOURNEY TO THE TROUBLETORN MIDDLE EAST, NIXON IS LESS RESTRAINED, SPEAKING OF A VISIT THAT "COULD WELL BE REMEMBERED CENTURIES FROM NOW AS ONE OF THOSE GREAT TURNING POINTS WHICH AFFECT MANKIND FOR THE BETTER."

THE WATERGATE IMPACT UPON THE PRESIDENT'S SUMMITRY REMAINS A SUBJECT FOR DEBATE AND SPECULATION. SOME CRITICS SUGGEST THE LACK OF EVEN A MODEST ACCORD WITH MOSCOW ON CURBING STRATEGIC OFFENSIVE WEAPONS REFLECTED A WEAKENED BARGAINING POSTURE FOR NIXON.

ANOTHER BIG QUESTION THAT EMERGED FROM THE SOVIET TRIP: WHAT IS THE FUTURE OF HENRY A. KISSINGER? IN A MOSCOW NEWS CONFERENCE WEDNESDAY, THE SECRETARY OF STATE APPEARED QUITE DISMAYED WITH THE POLICY INFLUENCE OF SECRETARY OF DEFENSE JAMES R. SCHLESINGER. MIGHT KISSINGER BE APPROACHING RESIGNATION, FOR REASONS ENTIRELY APART FROM THE RECENT WIRETAPPING FUROR?

ALSO, DID THE INTENSIVE ROUND OF SUMMITRY, EITHER BY HAPPENSTANCE OR DESIGN, BOOST THE PUBLIC STANDING OF THE EMBATTLED NIXON? A GALLUP POLL TAKEN AFTER THE MIDEAST TRIP RECORDED A ONE-POINT GAIN IN THE PRESIDENT'S POPULARITY RATING. NO MEASURE HAS BEEN TAKEN SINCE MOSCOW.

THE CENTRAL CONCRETE FACT TO EMERGE FROM THE SOVIET SUMMIT WAS THE FAILURE OF NIXON AND BREZHNEV TO NEGOTIATE A FURTHER LIMITATION OF STRATEGIC NUCLEAR WEAPONS, NOTABLY MISSILES WITH MULTIPLE WARHEADS WHICH CAN BE INDEPENDENTLY AIMED. THE UNITED STATES HAS A LEAD IN THESE SO-CALLED MIRV MISSILES AND KISSINGER HAS SAID A SUPERPOWER RACE TO MAKE THEM THE CENTERPIECES OF THEIR WEAPONRY WILL BE "OUT OF CONTROL" UNLESS SOMETHING IS DONE WITHIN ABOUT 18 MONTHS.

NIXON AND BREZHNEV CONTENTED THEMSELVES WITH PROMISING TO COMPLETE "AT THE EARLIEST POSSIBLE DATE" A 10-YEAR AGREEMENT TO CURB OFFENSIVE NUCLEAR WEAPONS.

REPORTING ON THIS AT HIS MOSCOW NEWS CONFERENCE, KISSINGER SAID "BOTH SIDES HAVE TO CONVINCE THEIR MILITARY ESTABLISHMENTS OF THE NEED FOR RESTRAINT, AND THIS IS NOT A THOUGHT THAT COMES EASILY."

HIS REMARK, WHICH SEEMED AIMED AS MUCH AT SCHLESINGER AS AT THE SOVIET DEFENSE MINISTRY, WAS FOLLOWED BY ONE PERHAPS MORE POINTED, SINCE IT INVOLVED AMERICAN POLICY DIRECTLY:

"ONE OF THE QUESTIONS WHICH WE HAVE TO ASK OURSELVES AS A COUNTRY IS WHAT IN THE NAME OF GOD IS STRATEGIC SUPERIORITY? WHAT IS THE SIGNIFICANCE OF IT, POLITICALLY, MILITARILY, OPERATIONALLY, AT THESE LEVELS OF NUMBER? WHAT DO YOU DO WITH IT?"

MORE

NEWSMEN THAT SCHLESINGER MIGHT GAIN ASCENDANCY IN U.S. POLICY-PLANNING AT A TIME WHEN NIXON MUST HUSBAND HIS STRENGTH WITH CONGRESSIONAL CONSERVATIVES, MANY OF WHOM EMBRACE HARD-LINE DEFENSE POSTURES.

AND KISSINGER HAS SAID HE WOULD RESIGN IF HE EVER BECAME CONVINCED THAT WATERGATE CONSIDERATIONS WERE PLAYING A DETERMINING ROLE IN U.S. POLICY.

ON THE MORE POSITIVE SIDE, THE SUMMIT PRODUCED:

-- AN AGREEMENT NOT TO BUILD THE SECOND ANTIBALLISTIC MISSILE (ABM) DEFENSE SYSTEMS PERMITTED UNDER A 1972 TREATY. THE CONGRESS HAS SHOWN LITTLE DISPOSITION TO FINANCE SUCH AN UNDERTAKING IN ANY CASE.

-- A NEW TREATY TO BAN UNDERGROUND TESTING OF NUCLEAR WEAPONS WITH AN EXPLOSIVE FORCE OF MORE THAN 150 KILOTONS BEGINNING MARCH 31, 1976. WHETHER EITHER COUNTRY EVER ENVISIONED TESTS OF SUCH MAGNITUDE IS NOT KNOWN, BUT KISSINGER SAID THE TREND IS IN THAT DIRECTION.

-- A PLEDGE OF TALKS AIMED AT MEASURES TO BAN ENVIRONMENTAL WARFARE THROUGH SUCH METHODS AS WEATHER MODIFICATION.

AS FOR THE MIDDLE EAST TRIP, THE PRESIDENT RETURNED PROCLAIMING "A PROFOUND AND LASTING CHANGE" IN THE REGION.

HIS TOUR OF EGYPT, SAUDI ARABIA, SYRIA, JORDAN AND ISRAEL APPEARED TO PRODUCE LITTLE IMMEDIATE CHANGE, HOWEVER. SOON AFTER HE LEFT THE PALACES AND DESERTS, ISRAEL BEGAN CONDUCTING AIR RAIDS AGAINST REFUGEE CAMPS IN LEBANON, IN RETALIATION FOR RAIDS ON ISRAELI SETTLEMENTS BY PALESTINIAN GUERRILLAS.

NIXON HIMSELF ACKNOWLEDGED THE TRIP BROUGHT NO "INSTANT PEACE" BUT HIS AIDES REPORTED HIM BOUYED BY WARM WELCOMES HE RECEIVED IN ARAB LANDS WHICH, UNTIL A FEW MONTHS AGO, WERE VIGOROUSLY ANTI-AMERICAN.

IN EACH ARAB COUNTRY, NIXON WAS BLUNTLY TOLD BY CHIEFS OF STATE THAT THE REGION WILL KNOW NO PERMANENT PEACE UNTIL THE PALESTINIAN QUESTION IS SETTLED. AND THERE WAS NO PUBLIC INDICATION HEADWAY HAD BEEN MADE ON THIS ISSUE.

DURING THE ARDUOUS JOURNEY, NIXON ANNOUNCED SEVERAL AGREEMENTS, ALL OF THEM ACTUALLY NEGOTIATED BEFORE HIS TRAVELS BEGAN.

ONE WAS AN ACCORD TO PROVIDE EGYPT WITH A U.S. NUCLEAR POWER REACTOR AND THE TECHNOLOGY AND FUEL TO OPERATE IT. ALTHOUGH BILLED AS PART OF A COMMITMENT TO HELP IN THE PEACEFUL REBUILDING OF THE EGYPTIAN ECONOMY, SOME IN ISRAEL AND WASHINGTON GREETED THE POWER PLANT AGREEMENT WITH APPREHENSION. SEN. HENRY M. JACKSON, D-WASH., LED CONGRESSIONAL CRITICISM OF ANY MOVE TO SHIP NUCLEAR FUEL TO AN ARAB COUNTRY.

WHEN NIXON REACHED JERUSALEM, HE ANNOUNCED ISRAEL ALSO WOULD BE RECEIVING NUCLEAR POWER ASSISTANCE SIMILAR TO THAT PROMISED EGYPT. AND HE DISCLOSED U.S. MILITARY AID TO ISRAEL WOULD BE CHARTED ON A FIVE-YEAR BASIS RATHER THAN EVERY 12 MONTHS.

IN SYRIA, HE WAS ABLE TO ANNOUNCE THE RESUMPTION OF FORMAL DIPLOMATIC RELATIONS BROKEN OFF SEVEN YEARS AGO. AND HE PROMISED ADDITIONAL ARMS AID FOR SAUDI ARABIA AND JORDAN.

THE AGREEMENTS AND THE PRESIDENTIAL PRESENCE DID SYMBOLIZE A DRAMATIC TURNABOUT IN AMERICAN RELATIONS WITH THE ARAB WORLD, FOLLOWING UP ON KISSINGER'S SUCCESS IN NEGOTIATING ARAB-ISRAELI MILITARY DISENGAGEMENT AGREEMENTS FOLLOWING THE OCTOBER WAR.

END ADV SUN AMS JULY 7; SENT JULY 5